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By
DAVID HARRISON STEVENS

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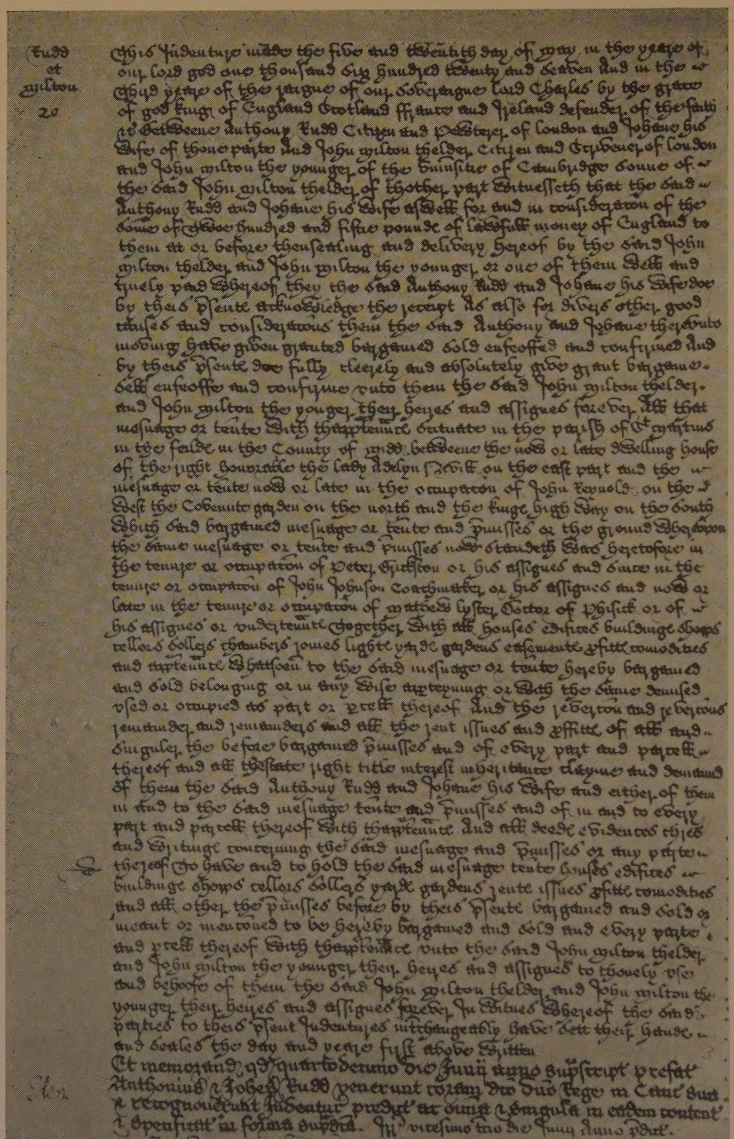

TRANSCRIPT OF THE MILTON DEED TO PROPERTY
IN COVENT GARDEN

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MILTON PAPERS

By

DAVID HARRISON STEVENS

Professor of English
The University of Chicago

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PREFACE

THE first paper and the Appendix of this book present the only deeds to property owned by the Milton family that have been found thus far, and the second article adds important details to those in the will of Richard Powell, father of the poet's first wife. Undoubtedly other documents of similar character lie undiscovered in the Public Record Office or elsewhere. The will of Edward King has not been printed hitherto, but the late John S. Smart knew of its existence. The other papers, on *Comus*, are fresh studies of materials long since known to Milton scholars but never examined intensively.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the officials of the Bodleian, the British Museum, and the Public Record Office for aid in the gathering of these materials.

D. H. S.

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SOME REAL ESTATE TRANSACTIONS OF JOHN MILTON AND HIS FATHER

SIX deeds to London property as entered in the Close Rolls for 1619 to 1629[1] illustrate the financial rating of John Milton, father of the poet. They likewise suggest a new location of London residence during the period of 1627 to 1637. A recital of these items, with a few corollary details, will establish also a new setting for those leisure years wherein Milton pursued his private studies, at Horton as at Cambridge, until his mother's death in 1637 forced the entry in the parish register of the burial on April 6 of "Sara, uxor Johñs Miltoni, generosi."

The father was concerned in a deed under date of May 2, 1621, whereby "Leonard Poe of London, Doctor of Phisicke" sold to "John Milton Cittizen and Scriviner of London and John Lane of London gent . . . . the moytie of one halfe of all that one mesuage or teñte . . . . neare the north end of Grayes Inne Lane" with its "peece or pcell of ground or garden plott" for the sum of £110 10*s*. This purchase has no explanation through later entries in the Close Rolls. Nothing is shown regarding the disposal of this or the other properties described by any of the documents positively attached to the name of John Milton, father and son; the shaky state of government records during the Civil War and the Commonwealth periods offers a plausible explanation of this fact. The only present value, therefore, of this 1621 entry is its identification of John Milton, scrivener, with a substantial transaction in London real estate.[2]

[1] Photostat copies are available in the University of Chicago Library.

[2] A transaction of May 21, 1619 (CR 2382/36), between Sir Edward Franceys of Sussex on the one part and Henry Gayley, Thomas Cartwright, and John Melton of London, gent., cannot be added to the group of authentic Milton documents, for with many others found during my investigation this cannot be considered a sure reference to the poet's father. Many such entries under "Milton" and "Melton" between the years 1600 and 1660 may, however, become valid as evidence by indirect proof that the poet or his father is the Milton designated in some of these records.

Two entries for 1627 are more substantial and of greater interest to literary historians. On June 23, 1627, the father paid Ann Westrawe, of London, widow, £108 for her claim on property adjacent to Covent Garden.[1] This payment was to reimburse her for £100, with interest at 8 per cent, paid to Anthony Rudd on June 23, 1626, in return for which Ann Westrawe had gained title to the property with a defeasant's clause. This clause provided that the bargain of sale was to be made void if Rudd should pay her £8 a year at fixed dates in the years 1627 to 1635 and the total of £108 on July 3, 1636.[2]

This payment to Ann Westrawe gave the Miltons full title to the property, toward which on May 25, 1627, they paid the said "Anthony Rudd Citizen and Pewterer of London and Johane his wife" the sum of £250.[3] The deed describes a completed purchase by "John Milton thelder Citizen and Scrivener of London and John Milton the younger of the Univsitae of Cambridge sonne of the said John Milton thelder" of property described as follows:

> All that mesuage or tẽnte with thapptenñces scituate in the parish of St Martins in the feildes in the County of Midd betweene the now or late dwelling house of the right honorable the Lady Adelyn Nevill on the east part and the mesuage or tẽnte now or late in the occupacon of John Reynoldes on the west the Covennte garden on the north and the kinges high way on the south which said bargained mesuage or tẽnte and pmisses or the ground whereupon the same mesuage or tẽnte and pmisses now standeth was heretofore in the tenure or occupacon of Peter Brickston or his assignes and since in the tenure or occupacon of John Johnson Coachmaker or his assignes and now or late in the tenure or occupacon of Mathew Lyster Doctor of Phisick or of his assignes or undertenñtes Together with all houses edifices buildinges shopps cellors sollers chambers romes lightes yardes gardens easementes pfittes comodities and apptenñces whatsoev to the said mesuage or tẽnte hereby bargained and sold belonging, etc.

The last two deeds of the group may be related to each other as representing a reinvestment of funds under the second deed of capital released by the sale of another London holding. On June 19, 1629, the father sold property to "Alexander Dorington of Grayes Inne in

[1] CR 2715/19. [2] CR 2675/9. [3] CR 2715/20.

the County of Midd gent and Mary Dorington wife to the said Alexander Dorington and late daughter to John Porter late Cittizen and Cutler of London," for the sum of £300. This holding is described as a tenement and garden plot "in Aldersgate streete in the parishe of Saint Buttolphe without Aldersgate London late in the tenure or occupacion of Thomas Stuttvyle gent or his assignes,"[1] with all attendant documents bearing on the title of the property. The title was guaranteed by further clauses of assurance.

A month later, on July 18, 1629, the father made a substantial investment in property held in the estate of Sir John Suckling.[2] This sale to John Milton, Sr., was of the house on Ludgate Hill, London, where Sir John Suckling had resided; its situation is defined as "in the parish of St. Martins within Ludgate" and the specified sale price as £560.[3]

The foremost fact from these deeds is that the father invested under his own name more than a thousand pounds, all within the space of nine years. There remains to discover what may be made of the particular deed in which the poet appears on equal footing with his father as a purchaser of the Covent Garden property.

Lacking a specific date of the father's retirement from his business in Bread Street, one may speculate on the possibility that the family had a house and garden beyond London walls for some years after 1627. Nothing contradictory to that assumption is to be found in Milton's writings. The fact that Milton lived at Horton after leaving Cambridge in July, 1632, does not signify when that residence began; we know only that the Horton period terminated within a year after the death of his mother, on April 3, 1637. The earliest implication

[1] CR 2803/18.

[2] Left for administration by "William Barrett of London gent Executor" in a will dated September 30, 1626, as specified in this recorded deed (CR 2860/7).

[3] The usual form of inclusive description excepts as not included "the branch or pipe of leade conveying water into the kitchen of the greater of the said mesuages," although the sale is of "twoe mesuags or tents one greater and one lesse and by him the said Sir John . . . . lately made and esteemed but one dwelling house." The bounds of the larger tenement are given as between that of "Raphe Brooke gent on the east and the tente now or late of William Smyth on the west"; the smaller is described similarly with exact details of location and previous holders.

of Horton residence lies in the nearness of that village to Harefield, presumably the setting for *Arcades* in 1633. Yet here again we are merely surmising. No deeds of sale or rental papers to or from John Milton, Sr., designate either terminus of the Horton period. Milton's statement in *Defensio Secunda* need not be taken as referring to only one family residence during the years from 1632 to 1637. Though this is the usual deduction from the familiar passage, Horton is not necessarily intended by the word "domum." On the other hand, that home undoubtedly is referred to in the "paterno rure" phrase:

> Illic disciplinis atque artibus tradi solitis septennium studui: procul omni flagitio, bonis omnibus probatus, usquedum magistri, quem vocant, gradum, cum laude etiam adeptus, non in Italiam, quod impurus ille comminiscitur, profugi, sed sponte mea domum me contuli, meique etiam desiderium, apud collegii plerosque socios a quibus eram haud mediocriter cultus, reliqui. Paterno rure, quo is transigendae senectutis causa concesserat, evolvendis Graecis Latinisque scriptoribus summum per otium totus vacavi; ita tamen ut nonnumquam, rus urbe mutarem, aut coemendorum gratia librorum, aut novum quidpiam in mathematicis, vel in musicis, quibus tum oblectabar, addiscendi.[1]

In the *Epistolarum Familiarum Liber unus* there are a few place references of some interest, but none of them clearly defines a London family residence. The first letter, to Young, was written "Londini inter urbana diverticula" and was dated "*Londino*, Martii 26. 1625."[2] The fifth, to Alexander Gill, concerning an unspecified translation into Greek heroic verse, has the intriguing subscription "*E nostro Suburbano*, Decemb. 4. 1634" and this sentence: "Vale, meq; Die Lunae Londini (si Deus voluerit) inter Bibliopolas expecta."[3] No real inference regarding distance from London can be drawn from the fact that the first "Die Lunae" after this date fell four days after the letter went from Milton's hand.

Some valid deductions may be drawn, however, from the contemporary uses of "suburbanus" for districts beyond London. These may show whether or not Milton wrote from the immediate neighbor-

[1] Symmons (1806 ed.), V, 230. [2] *Op. cit.* (1674 ed.), p. 9.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 14. December 4, 1634 (O.S.), was on a Thursday.

hood of the city or from Horton, sixteen miles west of the old walls. It is in the *Elegia prima* that Milton describes his London diversions during his college years; there he uses the word exactly (ll. 47–52):

> Sed neque sub tecto semper nec in urbe latemus,
> Irrita nec nobis tempora veris eunt.
> Nos quoque lucus habet vicina consitus ulmo,
> Atque suburbani nobilis umbra loci.
> Saepius hic, blandas spirantia sidera flammas,
> Virgineos videas praeteriise choros.

Elegia septima lacks this specific London setting, but it contrasts city and country in the two lines (51–52)

> Et modo qua nostri spatiantur in urbe Quirites,
> Et modo villarum proxima rura placent.

Throughout the Latin verses Milton uses the forms of "rus" with poetic freedom, but his "suburbanus" seems restricted to the narrower range of our own day.

An interesting parallel to Milton's exactness is to be found in James Howell's *Londinopolis*, a work based largely on Speed and yet marked by changes to meet the growth of the city and its environs. In his section treating "*Of places adjacent, and contiguous to the City of* London," Howell wrote thus: "Having endeavoured already to dissect the City of *London*, so that all her Members, and homogeneal parts may be discern'd: We will now passe on to her heterogeneal, or *Suburbian* parts, which yet are contiguous, and make one entire continued peece:" . . . .[1] Then, after circling the city, Howell directs his course toward Westminster past the Covent Garden property bought by the Miltons thirty years earlier. Here as with Milton is a specific use of the word "suburban," one that probably could be duplicated many times in other contemporary books.

Though left without final proof of a Covent Garden residence for the Milton family after 1627, we need have no further question re-

[1] *Londinopolis*, an Historicall Discourse or Perlustration of the City of London, the *Imperial Chamber*, and chief *Emporium* of Great Britain: whereunto is added another of the City of Westminster, with the Courts of Justice, Antiquities, and new buildings thereunto belonging (London, 1657), p. 341.

garding the condition of the family during the Cambridge and Horton periods. The father was prosperous to a high degree, amply able to give both sons uninterrupted years of study and leisure. The life of Christopher at Cambridge and in the Inns of Court is as distinctly a sign of the family estate as the record of the opportunities granted to the poet himself. He was not treated as an exceptional child in this regard. The scope of the paternal favor is graciously shown in a few sentences of *An Apology for Smectymnuus*, less poetic but quite as specific as the familiar lines of *Ad Patrem* that have the same meaning. There Milton wrote, in 1642, ". . . . I cannot omit without ingratitude to that Providence above, who hath ever bred me up in plenty, although my life hath not been unexpensive in learning, and voyaging about; . . . ."[1] These words, set in a torrential passage of retort, freely express the poet's response to his father's incessant and indulgent favor during thirty-four years. Other records may eventually complete the story of these cited deeds to London real estate. Then we may know what support the poet had from the family estate during the second half of his life, a period without other known income than the salary of his Latin secretaryship and small returns from the booksellers.

[1] Symmons (1806 ed.), I, 253.

MARY POWELL'S LOST DOWRY

THE words of John Milton declaring his nuncupative will were made public by his brother Christopher on the twenty-third of November, 1674. On that day he presented his own report and that of Elizabeth Fisher, a serving maid, who had scratched a cross in lieu of a signature to validate her assertions before the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Christopher Milton's own allegation was less specific than that of the maidservant, which in part reads as follows:

> Memorandum, that JOHN MILTON, late of the parish of S. Giles Cripplegate in the Countie of Middlesex gentleman, deceased, at severall times before his death, and in particular, on or about the twentieth day of July, in the year of our Lord God 1674, being of perfect mind and memorie, declared his Will and intent as to the disposall of his estate after his death, in these words following, or like effect: "The portion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former wife's father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her, having received no parte of it: but my meaning is, they shall have no other benefit of my estate than the said portion, and what I have besides done for them; they having been very undutifull to me. All the residue of my estate I leave to disposall of Elizabeth my loving wife."

Since the discovery of the court records, in the eighteenth century,[1] these words have been reprinted frequently, ordinarily with unfavorable remarks regarding Milton's harshness and lack of charity.

The three daughters, Mary, Deborah, and Anne, overcame the determination of their father at the last, as doubtless they had done frequently during his lifetime. Years earlier Richard Powell, eldest son and namesake of Milton's first father-in-law, had recovered much of the paternal estate without showing the least concern over the long-standing pledge of a dowry for his sister Mary or her heirs; nor had he considered binding in the least the obligation of his father to the

[1] The material was first printed in the second edition of Thomas Warton's *Poems upon Several Occasions, English, Italian, and Latin, with Translations, by John Milton* (London; 1791), pp. xxvii–xlii.

poet "under a statute" for £300 more, this being the residue of the £500 due to the Milton family since 1627. The dower of Mary was to have been £1000, so that in all Richard Powell, Sr., seems to have left unpaid to the poet a total of £1300 as well as many smaller sums to others. The process whereby he evaded payment is now more significant than the fact, for the story supplies a relief for the seemingly harsh spirit of Milton toward his own daughters in his unpleasant reference to the broken pledge.

The following documents show the financial circumstances of Richard Powell, Sr., at the time of his death, in December, 1646. He left an elaborate and somewhat pitiful will, dated December 13 of that year, calling upon his eldest son and Anne, his wife, to deal fairly with one another in settling his estate. Being at the time a homeless dependent in the house of his son-in-law, John Milton, he recorded this desire, "that my daughter Milton be had a reguard to in the satisfieing of her portion and adding thereto in case my estate will beare it."[1] To this will Milton himself was a witness. The document was probated by Anne Powell on March 26, 1647, but that action was annulled; on May 10, 1662, the son Richard secured a new probate under the favor of Charles II and thereby secured some of his father's estate.[2] His own will as drawn on December 29, 1693, and probated on February 3, 1696, proves that he prospered.[3]

As preliminary to a detailed account of the business dealings of Richard Powell, Sr., notice should be taken of the fact that he personally left no confession of the debt to Milton of the £300 so scrupulously set down by his widow Anne. Moreover, all the statements that she herself made concerning his estate demonstrate her concern for the rights of Milton and the other creditors of her late husband.[4]

[1] Fines 52. The entire will was printed by Masson in his *Life of John Milton*, etc., III (1873), 635–37.

[2] See *Abstracts of Probate Acts* (*Cant.*), IV (1904), 264. Also, see P.R.O., C5 540/83 for his recovery of Foresthill on May 31, 1683.

[3] Bond 6.

[4] P.R.O., C 5 2/65. This membrane has Anne Powell's answer of February 13, 1649, before the Chancery Court, to the claims of her husband's creditors against her as executrix and beneficiary.

Nothing but good will seems to have existed between Anne Powell and Milton at every stage of their difficulties over their joint claims.

As soon as Richard Powell, Sr., had been buried in the church of St. Giles without Cripplegate, on January 1, 1647, his creditors began action for recoveries from his estate. The family manorhouse at Foresthill had been seized by Sir Robert Pye, presumably in part to protect it against the confiscations of the new government,[1] and much of the movable property had disappeared. The oldest claim against his estate was one of Anne, his wife, in the matter of her own jointure. At the time of their marriage, on September 1, 1620, her uncle, Abraham Archdale, had given £2000 as her dowry to Richard Powell, Sr., under agreement that in return there should be conveyed to Anne as her property lands having a net income of £100 annually. This bond was never honored. Her receipts from her husband's estate amounted to £228 14*s.* 6*d.* three years after his death, and on June 12, 1650, the Commissioners for Relief ordered that whatever could be secured at Foresthill should be given her; but two years later she still was striving to recover from the Commonwealth government on her personal claim of the £2000 given in 1620 as dowry and the customary one-third of a widow.[2]

As for the actual condition in which Richard Powell, Sr., left his affairs, Anne Powell never realized the truth until years after his death. The tangled story was not brought into form until 1656.[3] Then the Warden and Fellows of All-Souls College, Oxford, had a review of Powell's financial chicanery in order to defend a parcel of college land leased to him. The land was at Wheatley, and it was that piece which brought to record the financial irregularities of Richard Powell.

It was in 1656 that the Powell lease to lands at Wheatley came within three years of its legal term. Thereupon All-Souls exercised its

[1] But Anne Powell believed that Pye had claim under a mortgage dated 1642, given him as forfeit for non-payment of £1400. The Foresthill property is vaguely discussed in her answer of February 13, 1649.

[2] Brit. Mus., Add. MS 34, 326, folios 43–44. See Masson (IV, 237–38) for details from other sources.

[3] Masson (IV, 237–46) explains the documents printed in Hamilton's Milton papers and adds a few facts, but he failed to discover the documents presented here.

right to renew or to transfer the lease to another. The original lease, made in 1626, Powell had had set aside in the year 1634 in exchange for a new one, but he had not surrendered the voided document. The Warden obviously was negligent; yet his carelessness gave no possible privilege to Powell under the discarded lease of 1626. Four years later, in 1638, Powell secured £200 from one Richard Bateman of London and in return assigned to Bateman the new lease. This was a genuine transaction. Then on September 30, 1639, he assigned the old and voided lease to one George Hearne for a term of thirty-one years in exchange for £340. This illegal transaction was capped by Hearne's redemise of the lease to Powell for a rental of £40 a year, and in both instances Powell was using an utterly worthless document. He shrewdly held the document, however, with possible hopes of still further deceptions. By these steps Powell secured in cash £540 and still held the land itself at an annual rental of £40.

Thus emboldened, in 1641 Powell went to All-Souls College in pursuit of new game. He made no admissions concerning his dealings with Bateman and Hearne, but produced his old lease of 1626 and thereupon secured an entirely new document in exchange. By paying to All-Souls a fine of £26 13*s.* 4*d.* he gave some color of fair dealing to the negotiation. Clearly this lease of 1641 had no standing, for the claim of Bateman rested on the only valid paper—that of 1634. All-Souls, like Hearne, had dealt with an utterly worthless document, so that their fresh lease of 1641 was as empty of value as the 1626 form recovered from Powell at that time. Richard Powell, therefore, rode home from Oxford in 1641 with a fresh leasehold from All-Souls to lands that he had compromised by a broken pledge to his wife under her dower rights and by false and true assignments to two friends. He also was the holder of something in this 1641 document that could be used in fresh quarters.

He did not delay. Sir Edward Powell of London, evidently a kinsman, was his next victim. The assignment netted him £300 of ready money; with terms of interest at 8 per cent a year Richard Powell continued to hold the land, and Sir Edward had a worthless mortgage in

exchange for his money. This fourth use of the Wheatley lands in raising funds evidently occurred only a short time before the Powells pledged to Milton a dower of £1000 for their daughter Mary.[1]

All these details were gathered up by All-Souls College to resist the claim brought for recovery of the £300 given over by Sir Edward Powell.[2] Bateman and Hearne were still persisting in their claims. The case closed on November 8, 1656, with the decision that all the circumstances had been well known to "*Richard Powell* the Lessee, who wittingly deceived himselfe, that he might cozen Sir *Edward Powell*, the plaintiff's testator." The plaintiff in the case was a certain William Powell. Whimsically concluding, the document asserts the position of the college in these words:

> Now deceipt is a crime, and a body without a soule (although it be *All-soules*) cannot be guilty of a crime, and so not be charged to pay damages or any way punishable for a crime: And therefore if any sute would have lien, it must have been against some naturall persons of that body; but to charge them as a body politick, there is no colour.

This ended the suit in behalf of the estate of Sir Edward Powell, which he himself had begun in 1647. It was the means of bringing into court the broken, incomplete story of Richard Powell's devices for getting ready money even at the cost of his wife's jointure and the dowry of his daughter Mary.

The family of Milton comes back into the story years later, when Anne Powell remembered her granddaughters in her own will. This was written on October 24, 1678, and was probated by a daughter named Anne Kinaston on November 7, 1682.[3] She died possessed of some £343, from which she set aside various small sums for her children and grandchildren before indicating her executrix as beneficiary of the residue. Among the smaller items is this one:

> I give unto my two Grandchildren, Mary Milton Spinster and Deborah Clarke the wife of [Abraham] Clarke in the kingdome of Ireland being the

[1] P. R. O., C 5 2/65 dates the indenture to Sir Edward Powell as of October 29, 1642.

[2] William Powell, alias Hinson, esq. Plaintiffe: *The Warden and Fellows of* All-soules *Colledge in Oxford Defendants.* In the Chancellors Court of the University of Oxford in a pretended Cause of Dammage. Eight pages, dated September 26, 1656.

[3] Cottle 138.

two surviveing daughters of my late daughter Mary Milton deceased unto each of them ten pounds apeece to be paid at the end of twelve months next from and after my decease.

The derelict son Richard, true son of his father, was granted release from a bond of £120 given his mother in July, 1665, "with condicon thereunder written that he pay £60 at a day now long since past."

On the day that Anne Powell made this as her will the poet had been resting for four years in the chancel of St. Giles without Cripplegate, close to the remains of his father and of his treacherous father-in-law, Richard Powell, Sr. Dowries, leaseholds, and jointures were then long since forgotten, and Anne Powell was thinking only of final remembrances to her descendants. In putting down as among her own the two children of Mary Milton then living, she showed a nature surpassing that of the poet as displayed in the words at the beginning of this account. On the other hand, it may be said in his defense that he had much to forgive and that a long dependence upon the care of his wife Elizabeth had made that relationship the only one having full meaning at the close of his life.

Had the broken pledge of a dowry for Mary Powell anything to do with the separation that disrupted the Milton home in 1643? Probably not. Richard Powell's insolvency and deceit were not known to anyone, least of all to Milton, until after 1647, and even then there was fair chance that recoveries from the Commonwealth sequestrators would meet the obligations of dowry and other debt. Soon, however, the faithless nature of the eldest son became evident, so that any such expectation was lost. The father's false practices became common knowledge. In 1652 Mary Milton died, leaving her husband in blindness with three dependent children. A recollection of all the circumstances could have brought little happiness to Milton thirty years after his first marriage and the ensuing events. When pronouncing his last will and testament, he was mindful of his "unkind children" and of certain contrasts in the natures of Mary Powell and Elizabeth Minshull. He also was aware of the years when his home was filled with the Powell family, nine children in all and their parents, while

the father secretly was deceiving them all. The lost dowry seemed, no doubt, to epitomize for the poet his luckless dealings with the entire Powell connection and to justify his determination that the fruits of that marriage should be cut off.[1]

Evidently the head of the Powell group was equally determined after the settlement of Milton's will that Mary Powell's dowry should not return to plague him. This seems to have been the purpose of a bond, now lost, that Richard Powell, Jr., had from Christopher Milton on February 22, 1675. Masson's surmises regarding this document are based on traces found in the final papers of the court contest and doubtless are correct.[2] As each of Milton's daughters received her portion, she signed a release that contained an excepting clause to provide assurance of protection against something that Christopher Milton might still have exerted legally against them. This bond made Christopher liable, under a penalty of £200, to respect this agreement, and apparently the agreement was that no member of the Milton family in his branch would again assail a Powell or the three daughters of Mary Powell and John Milton on the ground of the lost dowry. That obligation seems to have been lost to legal processes forever when Christopher Milton and Richard Powell, Jr., both of the Inner Temple, came to terms.

[1] Masson printed (IV, 243) Milton's petition of February 25, 1651, to the Commissioners for Sequestration. In this he asked the right to compound for the Wheatley land on which he had been receiving rents since November, 1647, paying to Anne Powell her share of one-third. It is assumed that Milton finally recovered the fine, amounting to £130, and the £300 due on the debt dating from 1627, but no one has found the final records in this recovery. This was apart from the dower claim, which was not considered in the decree.

[2] VI, 743.

THE BRIDGEWATER MANUSCRIPT OF *COMUS*[1]

THE Bridgewater Manuscript of Milton's *Comus* has always been held by the family and is now at Bridgewater House, the London residence of the Earl of Ellesmere.[2] This version has had less attention from English scholars than the other contemporary forms of *Comus* because the Trinity College draft in Milton's own hand is of higher authority in reference to the three editions of the masque printed during his lifetime. The 1637 text, published anonymously, and that in the 1645 edition of the *Minor Poems* are held to be the products of scrupulous revision by the author; they consequently outrank the earlier manuscript materials and the edition printed for the blind Milton in 1673.

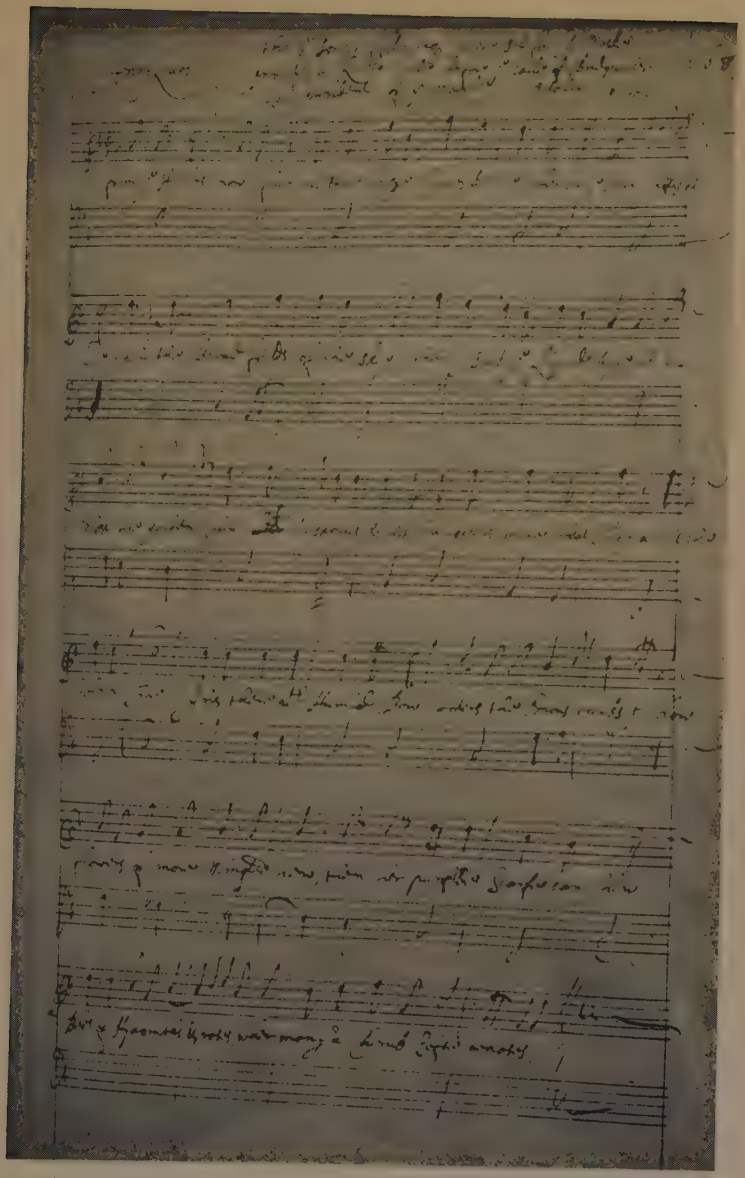
Quite apart from these facts the Bridgewater Manuscript has unique value as a work of collaboration. For the first presentation of the masque Henry Lawes set the songs to music, and he may have suggested cuts in the longer speeches that make this version over a hundred lines shorter than any other form. As actor of the principal rôle he may have had the privilege of adapting the text; quite as surely his musical skill and familiarity with masque traditions would give weight to his suggestions in regard to stage directions and settings.[3] Though such points have had notice in the two editions of this text,[4] no record

[1] Reprinted, with additions, from MODERN PHILOLOGY, Vol. XXIV, No. 3, February, 1927.

[2] Through the courtesy of the Earl of Ellesmere and with assistance from the late Mr. Strachan Holme, librarian at Bridgewater House, the notes for this study were made from the manuscript.

[3] In 1634 the masque tradition was drawing to its close as the aristocratic followers of Charles I withdrew their patronage from this blend of music, poetry, and pageantry. In the final development of the form Henry Lawes had an important part, in company with his brother William, Inigo Jones, Carew, and Shirley. Lawes gathered the experience for the *Comus* production at Ludlow Castle by assisting with the sumptuous performances of other masques at Whitehall and the Inner Temple. His place in the cast was a natural result of that experience joined with his service as teacher of music in the Bridgewater family.

[4] The full text of the Bridgewater *Comus* appeared as Appendix II, pp. 167–92, in H. J. Todd's *Comus*, etc., Canterbury, 1798. See also his modifying notes in his *Poetical*



A SHEET FROM THE LAWES AUTOGRAPH SETTING OF COMUS

(From the collection of Rev. H. R. Cooper-Smith)

has been made of some significant peculiarities in the stage directions. These have a bearing on the relationship existing in 1634 between Lawes and Milton.

One unique feature of the manuscript has been noted, namely, the use of nineteen lines of the Epilogue as printed in the 1637 text for the opening of the first speech. Henry Lawes in the rôle of the Attendant Spirit[1] spoke these lines and made them more significant dramatically than they are in the printed versions of the masque. Presumably in Milton's original draft they actually stood first or else they were shifted at the request of Lawes for his own advantage as an actor. Another variant from all other versions is the breaking of the lines preluding the rising of Sabrina[2] into seven speeches, whereas elsewhere the entire passage is given to the Attendant Spirit. This too may be a mark of Lawes's handiwork. Though many verbal differences exist in the texts of the two manuscripts, none of these can be ascribed to Lawes with any assurance,[3] so that a study of his modifications must be restricted to the title-page of the Bridgewater Manuscript and the stage directions. Only the two passages noted above evidence textual handling that cannot as plausibly be credited to Milton.

One erroneous idea regarding the Bridgewater Manuscript is that it is in the hand of Henry Lawes. The notion grew from his own assertion that frequent copying of the masque for others so tired his pen

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Works of John Milton, V (1801), 431–38. Disagreements with Todd's assertions are too numerous for mention here. All his comparative notes on the *Comus* text are open to question because based on Thomas Warton's study of the Trinity College Manuscript instead of on original work. The other printing is that of Lady Alix Egerton: *Milton's Comus, being the Bridgewater Manuscript, with Notes and a Short Family Memoir*, London, 1910. Though not devised as a critical study of all the *Comus* materials, this edition is noteworthy on account of its excellent Introduction based on unpublished family papers.

[1] In the Bridgewater version called the "Guardian Spirit" or "Demon," as in the Trinity College Manuscript.

[2] Ll. 869–89 in standard editions.

[3] No substantial evidence strengthens the alluring idea of Todd (1798 ed., p. 40) that Lawes is responsible for the "professional alteration" in l. 230 of the Bridgewater Manuscript making it read "And hold a counterpoint to all heav'n's harmonies" in place of the standard line of Milton (l. 243) "And give resounding grace to all Heav'ns harmonies." Had he seen the Trinity Manuscript, he would have noted that Milton's effectual blotting of the essential words left visible enough of the word "hold" to prove that he himself originated the musical term.

that he was forced in 1637 to put it into print.[1] Todd held this belief even after seeing the manuscript,[2] presumably because he had no authentic specimens of the handwriting of Lawes, and his assertion still stands without printed denial. Knowledge that the manuscript is not in the hand of Milton led to this *non sequitur* conclusion. That the version as a whole is not the work of Lawes is made certain through a comparison with accepted specimens of his handwriting preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere.[3] The same handwriting test proves, however, that he did make significant additions to this manuscript after the full form had been put down by another hand.

All the evidence suggests that the Bridgewater Manuscript was written by a skilled copyist. Marginal rulings, particularly for the ornamental lettering of the title-page, and a use of red ink for the names introducing all the speeches are indications of special care in preparing a copy for the library of the Earl.[4] With no available evidence concerning the person who wrote out the manuscript in its entirety, we may consider the additions made in the hand of Henry Lawes. This may be done advantageously in connection with a description of the manuscript.

The forty-eight unnumbered pages, measuring six by seven-and-a-half inches each, are arranged in six gathers of two folded sheets.[5] The first gather of eight pages has the formal title on 2*a;* on 3*a* the text begins. The sixth gather of eight pages has the closing lines on the

[1] Dedication of the 1637 edition.

[2] *Op. cit.*, V, 431–32.

[3] The Museum specimens are: a note from Lawes to Milton, undated except as it bears upon the Italian journey, regarding a safe-conduct overseas for Milton and one servant, Add. MS 36,354; a letter from Lawes to Captain Thomas Faulconbridge, Add. MS 33,965, fol. 58. Four sheets of words and music for *Comus*, the fourth having his signature (Add. MS 11,518) are evidently copies of the same songs in the large collection of Lawes MSS owned by Rev. H. R. Cooper-Smith, who kindly supplied the photostat for the reproduction.

[4] The second Earl of Bridgewater wrote on the title-page "Author Jo: Milton" (Egerton ed., p. 32). Identification of his handwriting implies that this note was made long after the performance, for he was but a boy in 1634.

[5] In every case the fold covers all but the ends of the watermark. These ends are of conventional design, being pointed grape clusters, with a fool's cap forming the tip of one end.

first half-page. The total of lines exclusive of stage directions is 908 as compared with the standard form having 1,023 lines.

Beneath the formal heading of the title-page and in the same hand is a line that reads "The chiefe persons in the rep'sentacon were." Immediately below, but in the writing of Lawes, are given the names of the three children of the Earl having rôles:

THE LORD BRACKLEY
THE LADY ALICE } EGERTON
MR. THOMAS }

At the foot of the page is the entry of still a third person, the second Earl of Bridgewater, crediting Milton with authorship of the masque.

In the upper right margin of 6*b* is the stage direction "they all scatter." The words are cramped because of the small space available, but the color of the ink and individual letter forms connect them clearly with the Lawes entry on the title-page. Page 19*b* has the direction "Sabrina descends and the lady rises out of her seate," and 20*a* has the words "Songe ends." All three of these stage directions are duplicated in the Trinity College Manuscript, where they stand significantly in the right margins over against solid text matter as written by Milton when composing the masque. The deduction is that as evident additions to Milton's solitary composition of *Comus* these are related directly to the notes of Lawes as added to the Bridgewater Manuscript. Considering the Lawes entries in their reference to the manuscript in which they stand, we may feel sure that Lawes used this finished copy with his mind on the first staging at Ludlow Castle on September 29, 1634.

The stage directions incorporated in the Bridgewater Manuscript by the copyist have still greater significance when checked against their appearance in the Trinity College Manuscript. Where the former has (ff. 1. 230) "Comus looks in and speaks" Milton has changed his original reading "Comus enters" to correspond. Where the Bridgewater Manuscript has as the second sentence of the stage direction following line 639 "Comus appears with his rabble, and the

Lady set in an inchaunted chayre, to whome he offers his glasse, which she puts by, and goes about to rise," Milton has "Comus is discover'd with his rabble & the Ladie set in an inchanted chaire. She offers to rise." The Bridgewater Manuscript follows the Demon's song beginning "Sabrina fair" with "The verse to sing or not," but Milton has no such stage direction. Instead, at the right of the next line of text, he wrote "to be said." His couplet

> Listen and appeare to us
> In name of great Oceanus

is thereby noted as the place to resume speech, and it is followed by six marginal lines of text for insertion. Here are proved contacts of the two manuscripts; they have a relationship recorded in no printed version of the masque. It is significant that this evidence accords with Milton's marginal note after what is now line 671 of the standard text: "that w^{ch} follows heere is in the pasted leafe begins [two words deleted] and first behold this," and his insertion of thirty-four lines that also are given in the Bridgewater Manuscript.[1] The evident conclusion is that the Bridgewater Manuscript in its entirety represents a shortened version of the Trinity College Manuscript, being itself a fair copy.

The other deduction from these compared stage directions is that either Milton revised his original stage directions somewhat while working alone or that he did so after conferring with Lawes. Two arguments make the second possibility virtually a certainty: all of Milton's agreements with the cases cited from the Bridgewater Manuscript are either alterations of directions standing in proper spacing within his Trinity Manuscript text or else they are additions put in the margins at points exactly agreeing with their placing in the Bridgewater Manuscript. Like forms, with some verbal variation, demonstrate Milton's collaboration with another person interested in the

[1] Cf. also the Bridgewater Manuscript stage direction after l. 886, "2 Songe presents them to their father and mother," and Milton in the Trinity Manuscript giving merely "2 song."

staging of the masque at Ludlow. Such collaboration is evident only through study of the two manuscripts, for he obscured it by other revisions when making ready for the 1645 edition.

When taken in connection with the shift of nineteen lines noted previously, these added stage directions signify that Milton personally had little to do with the production. They further may be vitally related to the fact that the longer version of the masque was printed in 1637 without his name as author. Had Lawes any peculiar reason for failing to register Milton as author when he wrote the names of the three children on the title-page of the Bridgewater Manuscript? Did he omit his own name as well through a feeling of class deference? If the masque in 1637 was actually "not openly acknowledg'd by the Author,"[1] whereas Lawes had the status of collaborator in the printing as in the staging, one can but presume Milton then to have been restrained by diffidence—not by inordinate pride inciting toward perfected workmanship before he should offer his work to the public. Some account is to be taken of the motto from Vergil appearing on the title-page of the 1637 edition

> Eheu quid volui misero mihi! storibus austrum
> Perditus—

as being a sincere reflection of his feeling. He was possessed by both motives, beyond a doubt; yet at the staging of his masque in the year 1634 Milton was partially dependent upon the advice of Lawes and in 1637 was acting under pressure to print. The manuscript evidence intensifies what Milton has recorded of his uncertainty, mistrust of self, and his dependence upon others during the years before his Italian journey. To ignore these facts gives the only means possible for those who argue to the contrary concerning the essential quality of Milton's youth.

Recurring for a moment to the Bridgewater Manuscript, one sees the meaning of Milton's deference to the experience of Lawes in

[1] Dedication of the 1637 edition.

the composition of his masque and finds the cause of his gracious tribute in the sonnet beginning

> Harry, whose tuneful and well measur'd song
> First taught our English music how to span
> Words with just note and accent, not to scan
> With Midas' ears, committing short and long. . . . .

This deftness in setting lyrical verses to music won similar poetic tributes from many other contemporaries, as can be seen in the introductory pages of the collected editions of the Lawes settings published during the seventeenth century. It is noteworthy, however, that Milton was the only poet to find him serviceable as collaborator, musician, actor, producer, and editor. The obligation seems unique in the story of English letters. It should be recorded still further of Henry Lawes that his 1637 edition of the masque, with the famous Dedication, brought Milton the favor of Henry Wotton and thereby the introductory letters that gave the poet free entry everywhere along the route of his continental tour. Lawes likewise procured passport privileges for Milton and his manservant.[1] For all these signs of friendship toward Milton, Henry Lawes ranks as more than a symbolic Attendant Spirit treading the poetic mazes of *Comus* at Ludlow Castle. He quite evidently put Milton in the way of favor from the aristocracy, but above that is his rôle of collaborator in staging and publishing *Comus*. It is a fair question whether Milton would have put off his natural tendency toward solitariness without energetic help from Henry Lawes, musician of the Chapel Royal to Charles I and fashioner of delicate airs for a new lyric poetry.

[1] Add. MS 36,354.

THE STAGE VERSIONS OF *COMUS*

THE adaptations of *Comus* for stage purposes supply materials toward a study of vogue that is unusual in that it reflects the changes in public taste during a period of two hundred years with striking accuracy. The bearing of such evidence on the actual popularity of an author is more exact than any compilation of critical opinions or any analysis of imitative products, for the stage substance must give satisfaction to an audience supporting the playhouse day by day. Milton's name had advertising value during the eighteenth century, but perhaps not the kind that would attract the playgoing public. The changes in his *Comus* were dictated by current taste, and this in turn depended upon both players and playhouses; having become accustomed to certain favorite actors or definite sorts of spectacle, the audiences required a use of these familiar elements, so that *Comus* was adapted to meet conditions. Only when plays are revived in the modern sense, with effort to recreate the original atmosphere, will the public concede something to the producer. The stagings of *Comus* between 1634 and 1842 had none of this historical perspective, and they therefore are direct indications of what the public wanted and could secure from the managers. The adaptations reveal the public, not the true appreciation of the poetry in its pure, original form.

Actors, stage machinery, and music were effective influences upon the text of the masque. They were wholly responsible for the framework of the adaptations that were made for the London stage between 1737 and 1842. The combination of forces at work then is too involved for elaborate examination, but notes on five adaptations will illustrate the method. An incidental result will be the proof that no study in the vogue of an author has any meaning unless complete credit is given to every element in the revival of interest in his works.

On Michaelmas Day, 1634, Henry Lawes staged Milton's poetic masque in the great chamber or on the lawns of Ludlow Castle. Doubtless the performance was within doors, without stage machinery, and under restrictions as to costume and actors. Not over five trained actors were called for, and very little in the way of properties could have been brought along on the tedious journey from the south of England to the border of Wales four months before this actual performance. Of that staging, the only one recorded for the seventeenth century, there is some evidence in the Bridgewater Manuscript. This gives proof of shortening and of other changes tending to facilitate production. In other respects it is a standard structure for its period, having all the mechanics of other courtly masques intended to flatter aristocratic auditors who were without any real regard for stage traditions in the public theaters. During the year before *Comus* had its first performance the court group in London had seen revivals of *The Faithful Shepherdess*, often cited for *Comus* sources, Carew's *Coelum Brittanicum*, and Shirley's *Triumph of Peace*. For the second of these Henry Lawes wrote the music[1] and used as actors the two brothers having leading rôles in *Comus*. Milton was thoroughly traditional in his methods of composition and undoubtedly strongly under the influence of Lawes personally, as is easily seen by examining these four masques in a group.

In spite of the handling given the text when Lawes manipulated the original material for his production, *Comus* stood forth in 1634 as a philosophical disquisition on the power of virtue to resist the temptations of sense. It had the poised aloofness of a highly cultivated social group. Through the characters who spoke his lines Milton showed his own taste, no doubt, but at the same time he expressed the interests of his audience in regard to stage plays. The lyrics are vibrant but motionless, giving the actor no chance for extravagant display, and the speeches are much too long for dramatic utterance. A comparison of *Comus* with other masques produced for the same spectators proves that such lyrics and speeches were not peculiar to

[1] His brother William had composed the music for Shirley's work.

Milton. They are to be found in the formulated patterns ready to his hand when he started his composition. A reader of the Bridgewater Manuscript today would accept the criticism of Sir Henry Wotton on the printed version of 1637, "I should much commend the Tragical part, if the Lyrical did not ravish me with a certain Dorique delicacy in your Songs and Odes, wherunto I must plainly confess to have seen nothing parallel in our Language."[1] Clearly this first staging of *Comus* was a fine representation of an author's purposes in writing and altogether pleasing to the special audience for which the masque was designed. The original stage version admirably represents the taste of English aristocracy in the days of Charles I.[2] Lawes and Milton pleased their public.

The first known adaptation of *Comus* was staged in 1737, a hundred years after Lawes published his edition. The anniversary date may have led to this use, but the Licensing Act and the search for English materials suited to musical performance were perhaps as significant causes. Thirty years earlier, in 1707, the resistance to foreign invasion of the London stage had begun in the attempt of Addison to make his *Rosamond* the forerunner of a line of native musical plays. French, German, and Italian singers were exploiting the demand for singing on stage, both as accompaniment to spoken plays and as a direct attempt at opera. The development of stagecraft encouraged this swing away from the legitimate drama, and also the use of leading actors had altered popular interest in well-balanced productions by a full company. In this native growth of opera Gay's *Beggar's Opera* is the most significant influence before the day when Paul Rolli published his *Sabrina*, in 1737, with Italian and English texts on opposite pages.

Rolli was following the new vogue when he dedicated his work to the "English nobility" by means of a congratulatory preface. Nicolini

[1] *Poems of Mr. John Milton*, etc. (1645 ed.), pp. 71–72.

[2] The only indication of what stage properties and costumes were used in *Comus* thus far discovered seems to be the note of Lady Alix Egerton in the 1920 edition (p. 28). The "2 Masken seuts for my Lo. Brackley, and the other for Mr. Thomas" that were bought on February 17, 1634, to be used in Carew's masque, may have been used again in the autumn at Ludlow Castle. She found among family records a notice also of costumes once kept among the household effects at Ludlow.

dedicated his *Croesus, King of Lydia* (1714) to the Earl of Portland. Heidegger dedicated Gasparini's *Antiochus* (1712) to the Countess of Burlington. In 1726 Attilio Ariosti's *Lucio Vero* was printed as "da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro di Haymarket, per la Reale Accademia di Musica." Pietro Sandoni's *Issipile* was printed in 1735 with a dedication to the Duchess of Portland. Such means to favor with the nobility were evidently acceptable, and Rolli merely enlarged his scope by including them all. His preface reads in part as follows:

> The basis of the present poem is a mask written by Mr. John Milton, the incidents of which were supposed to have happened between two gentlemen of distinction, their sister, and Comus a demigod of mischievious nature; which incidents I have, with the addition of an amorous passion, imagined befalling two gentlemen and two ladies, one of whom is to be married to the sister of the other, who is, by a cross match, also to marry the sister of the former. These set out from London for their father's seat, who was of the more distinguished rank, where the marriage was to be celebrated; but in the forest, which lay in their way, they met with the misfortunes interwoven in this catastrophe.

The turn from Milton's austere treatment is entirely evident in this sketch of a conventional plot on the framework of love at cross-purposes.

Rolli's opera was staged at the Theatre Royal in the Haymarket on April 26, 1737, within five months of the hundredth anniversary of the *Comus* production at Ludlow Castle. The scenes of the three acts are laid in a Herefordshire forest, with a woodland, a shepherd's cottage, and the apartments of the father as the local situations. Rolli's paired lovers are Grandalma and Brunalto, Belcore and Crindoro. They are characterized in the dramatis personae as "Dame Britanne" and "Nobili Britanni," but their natures are wholly cosmopolitan. The background as well lacks English coloring. An example of Rolli's freedom in treating Milton's substance is furnished by the following passage, his English rendering of the opposed lines in Italian:

> *Brunalto:* Go thou, and wait us on the mossy banks
> Of yond cascade; Crindoro, come along.
> *Crindoro:* Brunalto, let us go. We'll gather fruit

Worthy thy lips, which shall be like them too,
Both in their beauty and delightful taste.
Apples so rare,
And fruit so fair
As those with which fond love does grace
Thy beauteous chest and lovely face.

The tone throughout is on this level, the speeches being written without any attempt at imitating the spirit of the original.

Some parts of the temptation scene of *Paradise Lost* and a few fragments of *Comus* are evident, though there is obvious misuse of names and situations suggested by Milton's story. Sabrina, a dryad, urges the shepherd Tirsi to hasten on as protector to the son and daughter of the lord of the wood. They and their companions are to face the demigod Compaspes, a lustful ravager who is introduced later in soliloquy speculating on the possibilities in his device to separate the paired lovers. In this long speech, and in another by the distracted Brunalto, Rolli used Milton's epic material.

The second act reveals Compaspe alone with Grandalma in an enchantment scene while the other lovers vainly pursue phantoms of one another through the forest ways. As they are pressed onward by armed men in Compaspe's employ, the demigod himself succeeds in leading Grandlama to his apartment under the guise of Brunalto.

In the third act Sabrina has a rôle patterned on the closing situation of *Comus*. She warns Compaspe of his helplessness against virtue, whereupon he retorts with recollections of the successes of Jove in a similar rôle. She next appears to Crindoro in a dream and dips his sword in a stream that gives it power over all enchantments. She recalls the true Brunalto from his wanderings in the forest. After this preparation the story turns to the luxuriant banquet hall of the demigod. The enchanted sword does its work with a bare flourish. Compaspe vanishes, and Sabrina rises to bless the lovers in a complimentary prophecy of "propitious smiles" for the "British isles."

This constant mingling of sensual elements with sentimentalized moral counsel is familiar to all readers of English drama of the early

eighteenth century. The conclusion has another indication of the period for which Rolli was writing in its praise of homely virtues. The trading class, having regard for material prosperity, was much in the mind of English playwrights of the time, and Rolli follows the vogue in these lines:

> For wisdom, courage, industry,
> For riches, honour, beauties, charms,
> Both fear'd and bless'd may these shores be,
> While Phoebus' raies the heav'ns warms.
> And while they strike all round an awe,
> Fair liberty, great gift divine,
> Enthron'd, shall safely give the law,
> And with a dazling lustre shine.

The success of Rolli's piece is not indicated by news comments, but there is abundant reference to the three-act work of John Dalton produced the next season under the title of *Comus*. On Friday, March 3, 1738, it was advertised for a Drury Lane première the next night, with six well-known actors, three singers, and four dancers named in the bill; these were assisted by a number of others. The play was ready in print, copies being sold in the theater at a shilling, and the scale of prices was announced as ranging from a shilling for the seats in the upper gallery to five shillings for the boxes. No other play was billed for that night, March 4, when *Comus* first appeared in a version thoroughly adapted to suit an eighteenth-century audience. The success of the venture is shown in the advertisement of the third performance by the notice that "Side-Boxes only will be form'd on the Stage, for the Benefit of the Ladies. And (by desire) Five Rows of the Pit will be rail'd in at the Price of the Boxes, where Servants will be admitted to keep Places. The Ladies are desired to send their Servants by Three O'Clock."[1] The same newspaper carried Dodsley's advertisement of the printed copies on sale, and Dublin had its own issue within the year. Histories of the drama have recounted the successive runs

[1] *London Daily Post or General Advertiser*, Tuesday, March 7, 1738. The preceding day the advertisement carried the full note, later abbreviated: "To prevent any interruption in the Musick, Dancing, Machinery, or other Parts of the Performance, 'tis hoped no Gentleman will take it ill, that he cannot be admitted behind the Scenes, or into the Orchestra."

of Dalton's *Comus* during the next thirty-five years.[1] The present interest is not in the theatrical vogue, but in the textual changes and additions that Dalton made to merit that reception. It is interesting, however, to see that Quin in the title rôle and a half-dozen other leading actors of the day were billed repeatedly for the parts given them on the first night, and that Quin himself won great applause in his final effort of the season.[2]

There is the same denaturing of Milton's temper, in part, as was in Rolli's work; yet the original theme persists throughout. Two attendant Spirits seemed to be required, one being used to break up the long expository speeches of the other by his questions. The preliminary dialogue gives a full exposition of all the characters in the play, and there is the usual elaborate preparation for the entry on stage of the leading woman character. All three acts are interrupted constantly by interspersed songs that have no reference to Milton's materials. The noisy crew attending Comus is active in the early scene and in the temptation scene of Act II; in the latter the material is similar to that in ballad opera. The Second Act gives full rein to the moralizing speeches of the brothers, and the final act has Milton's addresses to the Lady in somewhat diluted form. *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* are used in the speeches of the last act.

Dalton's additions are well illustrated by the following songs of Euphrosyne, a rôle created for Mistress Clive, and by the accompanying stage directions. These are taken from the Third Act.

I

Come, come, bid Adieu to Fear,
Love and Harmony reign here.
No domestick jealous Jars,
Buzzing Slanders, wordy Wars,
In my Presence will appear.
Love and Harmony reign here.

[1] See A. Nicoll's *A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama, 1700–1750* (Cambridge, 1925), p. 317.

[2] Within the month ending on March 4 he played Manly in *The Plain Dealer*, Chamont in *The Orphan*, Brutus in *Julius Caesar*, Richard III, Maskwell in *The Double Dealer*, and a principal part in *Art and Nature*.

II

Sighs to amorous Sighs returning,
Pulses beating, Bosoms burning,
Bosoms with warm Wishes panting,
Words to speak those Wishes wanting,
Are the only Tumults here,
All the Woes you need to fear;
Love and Harmony reign here.

She has further advice on love, its difficulties and cures. A dance is introduced with this stage direction:

The Naiads dance a slow Dance agreeable to the subject of the preceding Lines, and expressive of the Passion of Love. After this Dance the Pastoral Nymph advances slow, with a melancholy and desponding Air, to the side of the Stage, and then repeats by way of Soliloquy the first six lines, and then sings the Ballad. In the mean Time she is observ'd by Euphrosyne, who by her Gesture expresses to the Audience her different Sentiments of the Subject of her Complaint, suitably to the Character of their several Songs.

A little farther on Euphrosyne sums up her philosophy in lines recalling the songs of Congreve and the Restoration:

I

Preach not me your musty Rules,
Ye Drones, that mould in idle Cell;
The Heart is wiser than the Schools,
The Senses always reason well.

II

If short my Span, I less can spare
To pass a single Pleasure by;
An Hour is long, if lost in care;
They only live, who Life enjoy.

Such means as these were effectual in relieving the tedium of poetical sentiments and moral instructions implicit in the work of Milton. The early eighteenth-century critics report their audiences as most attentive in the scenes bearing lessons of morality, but by creating the rôle of Euphrosyne Dalton succeeded in giving them the full effect of his didacticism through strength of contrast and so caught

their interest. The eighteenth century of his day liked both its morality and its sensory images in full strength. It was in the power of Dalton to create precisely the right blend, and with Quin as interpreter of the Comus rôle he had an admirable means of conveyance. His success, crudely explained by later critics as due to the restoration of Milton "to himself," was rather the result of a felicitous combination of appeals suited to the musical and dramatic sense of his audiences. Todd's citation of a contemporary critic[1] who estimated the acting of Quin in terms of one eighteenth-century school of philosophy is an effective proof of Dalton's social understanding. Quin is described thus:

> In Comus throughout the whole part, he is something more than man; the *deity* he represents dwells about him in every attitude, and in the pronouncing every period: with what a superior greatness does he introduce himself to us by his manner of delivering the glorious lines that open his part! . . . . His invocation to Cocytto is delivered with equal judgment with the rest. When men invoke the *Divinity*, they are to do it with the utmost humility and awe; but the player, here, remembers that he is only addressing an equal; himself a *deity*, and the imaginary being he addresses, no more.

In summary of Dalton's contribution to the Comus tradition we have the Prologue and Epilogue as they were first printed in the third edition of 1738. The opening speeches of the attendant Spirits gratified the eighteenth-century public by praises of right conduct, morality, and social rule. At the close of the action the Younger Brother calls to the First Spirit, after the release of his sister:

> Inform us, *Thyrsis*, if for this thine Aid
> We aught can pay, that equals thy Desert?

The reply is in keeping with the spirit of the age:

> Pay it to Heaven, that lent you grace
> To escape this cursed Place;
> To Heaven, that here has tried your Youth,
> Your Faith, your Patience, and your Truth,
> And sent you through these hard Essays

[1] In his 1808 edition of *Comus, with selected and original Anecdotes and Annotations*, p. 87.

With a Crown of Deathless Praise,
To triumph in victorious Dance
O'er sensual Folly and Intemperance.

The moralizing couplet ending the Epilogue is the motto of the entire adaptation:

But to be grave, I hope we've prov'd at least
All vice is folly, and makes man a beast.

Such elements in the Milton story as could be drawn toward didactic ends had no appeal in 1772 to George Colman, the next to rework the Comus theme. His generation of Englishmen appreciated the following lines as the answer of the Spirit to the question of the Younger Brother on the subject of payment:

Pay it to Heaven! There my mansion is:
But when a mortal, favour'd of high *Jove*,
Chances to pass thro' yon advent'rous glade,
Swift as the sparkle of a glancing Star,
I shoot from Heav'n to give him safe convoy.

He had no impulses toward moral application, even at the close of his action. Throughout his text appear the marks of excision wherever moralizing was suggested, and the addition of sensual language in song is Colman's substitution. Dalton's love lyric to be sung "By a Woman in Pastoral Habit" in Colman's hands becomes "Song. By a Female Bacchanal." The two brothers retort in Dalton's version with Milton's didactic speeches at full length, whereas in Colman's text they make but mild protest to the temptress.

Such changes Colman explains in his advertisement of the printed copy:

Pure Poetry unmix't with passion, however admired in the closet, has scarce ever been able to sustain itself on the Stage. In this Abridgement of Milton's Comus, no circumstance of the Drama contain'd in the Original Masque, is omitted. The divine arguments on temperance and chastity together with many descriptive passages, are indeed expunged or contracted: But, divine as they are, the most accomplished declaimers have been embarrassed in the recitation of them. The speaker vainly laboured to prevent a coldness and languor in the audience; and it cannot be dissembled that the Masque of

Comus, with all its poetical beauties, not only maintained its place on the Theatre chiefly by the assistance of Musick, but the Musick itself, as if overwhelmed by the weight of the Drama, almost sunk with it, and became in a manner lost to the Stage. That Musick, formerly heard and applauded with rapture, is now restored; and the Masque, on the above considerations, is curtailed.

As a further argument in favour of the Drama in its present form, it might perhaps be urged, that the festivity of the Character of Comus is heightened by his assisting in the vocal parts, as well as in the dialogue; and that theatrical propriety is no longer violated in the Character of the Lady, who now invokes the Echo in her own person, without absurdly leaving the scene vacant, as heretofore, while another voice warbled out the song which the Lady was supposed to execute.[1]

The alterations that Colman defends in such style comprise drastic cuttings and a few popular additions. The Dalton text has 1,047 lines and includes twenty-five songs. Colman's change of three acts into two acts had something to do with the shortening of Dalton's text, but not enough to cause the reduction of lines to only two hundred and ninety-eight. An entirely new effect was sought in 1772. The theater and the players were giving to their audiences a more solidly packed evening of entertainment, with much dancing, singing, and scenic adornment. Spoken parts were necessarily shortened to compensate, and Milton's *Comus* followed the vogue. During eight weeks the Colman *Comus* followed *Jane Shore*, *The Busy Body*, *Every Man in His Humour*, *All's Well That Ends Well*, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, *The Provoked Husband*, and *The Recruiting Officer*.[2] It won an established place in repertoire as an afterpiece and thereby obscured the original values of the Comus story for the London managers of the next fifty years. Slight changes improve or mar the texts printed after the time of Colman, but these are not worthy of careful analysis. With all other popular plays the *Comus* fell into the heaped up dramatic

[1] 1772 ed., pp. i–ii.

[2] Genest's *Some Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830* (Bath, 1832) has the entry for May 17 in the account of the Covent Garden season of 1772–73: "Comus was acted for the 1st time in 2 acts (See D.L. March 4 1738) Comus =Mattocks: 1st Spirit =Hull: 1st Bacchanal =Rembold: Lady =Mrs. Mattocks: Euphrosyne—Miss Catley: acted several times" (V, 360). Newspaper advertisements show thirteen performances, all as afterpieces, between October 16 and December 17, 1772.

anthologies that appeared at the turn of the century, all of them interesting but unimportant for study of textual history. The play was no longer Milton, nor was it a masque. From 1772 to the end of the century the character of the production changes constantly according to the strength of companies in singing players, and the printed copies become indefinite in their outlines.

In 1790 Drury Lane had an important revival of the new version, but the textual manipulations occurring in the form staged at Covent Garden on April 28, 1815, are next in importance after Colman's changes. With new scenery and new costumes *Comus* had fourteen appearances during the remainder of that season.[1] Thomas Dibdin, prompter at Drury Lane, published the new text in his *London Theatre* of that year,[2] with the following account of the origin of his text:

> It was altered with additions from the works of its immortal author, and produced at Drury Lane in 1738, by Doctor Dalton. Another alteration was brought out at Covent-garden by the senior Colman in 1772; and it has been recently brought forward with great and appropriate splendour, at the same theatre, with still further variations. The present copy steers somewhat between the two last named productions, adhering mostly to the latter.

The text starts with Comus as the subject of the Attendant Spirit's prologue. The Lady is heard singing as she approaches, and after her dialogue on stage with the demigod she follows him off as the Crew sings exultantly at the close of that act:

> Fly swiftly, ye minutes, till Comus receive
> The nameless soft transports that beauty can give;
> The bowl's frantic joys let him teach her to prove,
> And she in return yield the raptures of love!
> Without love and wine, wit and beauty are vain,
> All grandeur insipid, and riches a pain;
> The most splendid palace grows dark as the grave;
> Love and wine give, ye gods, or take back what ye gave.

[1] Genest, *op. cit.*, VIII, 480.

[2] X, iii.

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Away, away, away,
To Comus' court repair;
There night outshines the day,
There yields the melting fair.[1]

In 1842, the year before the privileges of the patent houses were broken down by the new law, the final compound of elements seems to have been achieved. The most complete operatic version was staged at Covent Garden on March 2, with the smallest amount of the true *Comus* text to be found in any of the adaptations. The musical arrangement of J. H. Tully utilized the work of Handel in the setting that he made for parts of *L'Allegro*, the music of Purcell and Arne, and some bits of music that had been used in Dryden's *King Arthur*. All of Dalton's interpolations are missing, excepting three of his most popular songs, and the entire production is well defined by the deviser as an "operatic spectacle." The two acts were rendered by means of solos, duets, choruses, with some recitative.

Had Dibdin seen this production he might have said with irony, rather than praise, that "to add any opinion on a poem of Milton's would be presumptuous,"[2] for Milton had become but a shadow of himself in the 1842 "adaptation." In the place of his simple, moralizing masque stood a full-blown opera with the commonplaces of advertising now used in theater programs to help the manufacturers of properties. J. H. Tully was advertised in the prints more strikingly than the poet. Careful mention was made of three Messrs. Grieve as in charge of the scenery, and of other gentlemen individually as caring for all mechanical changes, decorations, appointments, and dances. Similar tributes were paid to the song leaders having the direction of large groups and to those responsible for dressing and costuming. As fanciful additions to the dramatis personae we find a Cupid and the Genius of the Frozen Clime. The production was a feat of stagecraft that demonstrated the final conquest of the actor by the mechanics

[1] P. 11.
[2] *London Theatre*, X (1815), iii.

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of his medium, the complete acceptance of the modern theater in its physical sense.

The obvious conclusion from such materials as these is that the vogue of an author is frequently incidental to an encircling purpose growing out of accidental circumstances. In this case the genuine literary and ethical values were rapidly submerged as the forces of theatrical sort rose above the poet and his interpreters. There is a true index of changing taste in such heedless use of a great original for purposes of temporary utility, particularly as during all these decades there was no attempt to rediscover, through an authentic revival, the original environment of the masque. It is only for such audiences as saw the painstaking revival of *Comus* during the Tercentenary Celebration at Cambridge that these historical perspectives have a meaning, and it is the very absence of such historical sense that defines any social group most effectually. The acceptance granted to any literary masterpiece, whether it be dramatic or otherwise, reveals the temper of an age. It is a matter of some importance that a generation actually applauds the great writers of the past, but far more important is the proof of what it applauds. By accepting happily these adaptations of *Comus* in printed texts and as stage performances the English public showed itself incapable of appreciation based upon historical perspective. It thereby judged itself, not the poet, proving conclusively that the literary artist like the musician must have an instrument for the creation of his harmonies.

THE WILL OF EDWARD KING

TEN days before losing his life off the coast of Wales Edward King made the following will at Christ's College, Cambridge:

This is the Will, That Mr John Alsopp have my bookes to chuse out from among them what he shall like And what he shall refuse to be given to my Sizer John Potts Item all bondes of money due to mee, and all other my goods in Camb to be thus disposed of by the same John Alsopp. First all my debts to be payd And what remaynes entirely to be left to the use of Christe Coll. I likewise desire the same John Alsopp to burne all my papers and paper books in which there is any thing written, not reading them himself nor suffering any other to doe soe. Written with my owne hand. Edward King. August first 1637. If any question be made concerning that bond beneath mentõed. Whereas I have delivered to Mr Weale the key of my Study, It is therefore here in my Will, that nothing in it shalbe medled with or taken away or put to any use until a bond of fiftie poundes to Mr . . . . be fullie discharged. In which bond the same Mr Edmund Weale is bound for mee And to this I sett my hand. Edward King. Wittnes James Elliott Henry King. Let this notice be delivered to Mr Alsopp, who will satisfie the bond.[1]

There is no collection of books at Christ's College having signatures of Edward King, but the *Justa* and the biographical register of Christ's College supply a few points that show a recognition in the college of King's loyalty to his comrades. Also, for the lack of deep personal feeling in *Lycidas* there is some explanation in the formal and reserved praises of those who contributed the other poems in that volume. Though this will adds nothing of great importance to the story of King's life, it stimulates an inquiry into the effect of his death upon Milton and others then at Christ's College.

The remainder of King's estate, which he designated as for the college, may be the sum named in the Leigh Manuscripts; that record shows that he left £112 12*s.* 7*d.* toward the new building. An old

[1] Goare 127. Under the text of the will is the usual Latin formula for discharge of the executor, dated September 9, 1637.

Commemoration book in the handwriting of Joseph Shaw, Fellow for many years following 1807, credits him with a gift of £200, but this may be merely a round number for the exact sum named by the earlier writer.[1] Either the bequest or an earlier gift may have been in the mind of John Hoper, author of the twelfth numbered poem in the *Justa*, when he wrote

> Systema periit artium, scientiae
> Omnis patronus cultor idemque optimus.[2]

At any rate, these hints and the circumstances of King's election to his fellowship support the spirit of responsibility and generosity shown by the clauses of his will.

The most intimate remark regarding King's habits is in the poem of J. B., in the two lines

> Haec manus assiduo versare volumina nisu,
> Illa repromendo lecta notare libro;[3]

Elsewhere the collection has many allusions to his scholarly life and to his poetic ability that are obviously the formalities of condolence. This one friend refers to the way in which King re-read and marked his books, whereas all the others except Henry King showed their devotion largely through ambitious attempts at mythological comparison. The *Justa* is under the customary restraint of such seventeenth-century compilations made at irregular intervals to compliment or to lament a friend, being a somewhat perfunctory exercise in a recognized formula.

Such formality might be expected to disappear in any poems contributed by the friends named in King's will, and it is true that the long Latin and English poems of his brother Henry are in deeper strains than others of the collection. He and John Potts, however, were the only ones participating in the will to write for the volume. John Allsopp, named as administrator, had functions in the college

[1] J. Peile, *Biographical Register of Christ's College, 1505–1905, and of the Earlier Foundation, God's House, 1448–1505*. 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1910–13), II, 375.

[2] *Justa Edouardo King, Naufrago, ab Amicis Moerentibus, Amoris* et *μνείας χάριν*. (Re-impressum Dublini, 1835), p. 60.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

making him a natural choice for that office, so that his place in King's will may mean little on the score of friendship. He was Dean of Christ's College in 1637, was named as executor of other wills, notably of Joseph Mead's, and during the thirties transacted much college business. It is perhaps natural that he should have had no part in the *Justa*. The poem by Potts is one of three in Greek. It is a sincere work without unusual expressiveness, built upon mythological references. Like others in the group, Potts shows the poetic foible of his century for conceits by using King's name in its common noun value, though he does not weaken the tone of his verse in doing so. Having entered Christ's College as a sizar on February 15, 1636, he had been intimate with King for something over a year when the will was drawn. He at least might have been expected to write in that spirit had he not felt restrained by the circumstances of publication and the traditions of formal versifying.

Against this background may be projected the conditions under which Milton wrote his *Lycidas*. He had the poem finished within three months after King's death, possibly within a very short time after the call for his contribution to the volume. He then had been away from Cambridge nearly five years, so that in time as well as in place he was without the impulses toward expressiveness that prompted the others. With one or two exceptions he equaled them in the intimacy of his feeling, though using the commonplace of pastoralism. He wrote much the longest poem in the *Justa;* and though this fact cannot be taken as measuring his concern over their common loss, it proves at least an earnest desire to compose a masterful threnody.

These are the corollaries of King's will that belong to the Milton story. Any lack of warmth in Milton's utterances on the death of King has no meaning whatever if considered alone. When that lack is tested by the poetic formalisms of the entire *Justa* and of the seventeenth century, his work shows a truer feeling than was common. Intimacy and depth of grief cannot be measured by using the biographical poetry of our own day as the standard for judging what men should have said back in the seventeenth century. It would be equally

improper to assume our sense of loss through the death of friends to be slight because we compile no volumes of poetic tributes. The temper of any age is final in securing or destroying its customs and observances. As we see something fine in Edward King's order that the confidences hidden in his papers be kept inviolate after his death, we likewise should respect the seventeenth-century tradition that poems of condolence be somewhat formal. Feelings were under restraint when exposed through print, so that neither Milton nor any other contributor to the *Justa* can be judged too literally by his poem. There is no doubt that Milton was in complete harmony with the plan to honor King's memory in a poetic garland. There should be none on the equally evident point that like King's other friends Milton avoided personal recollections in offering his formal verses to a dead name.

APPENDIX

THE following documents are four of the deeds discussed in the first paper. All abbreviations have been expanded to give the full forms of the words, but in other respects the text of each document is represented literally. Two other transcripts of deeds referred to in the same paper are not given below as having less direct bearing than these four upon the financial standing of the Miltons. These are the deed of May 2, 1621, from Leonard Poe to John Milton, Sr., and John Lane, and that of June 23, 1626, from Anthony Rudd to Ann Westrawe.

Close Roll 2715, Item 20

Rudd et Milton 20

This Indenture made the five and twentith day of May in the yeare of our lord god one thousand six hundred twenty and seaven And in the Third yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne lord Charles by the grace of god king of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the faith etc Betweene Anthony Rudd Citizen and Pewterer of London and Johane his wife of thone parte And John Milton thelder Citizen and Scrivener of London and John Milton the younger of the Universitie of Cambridge sonne of the said John Milton thelder of thother part Witnesseth that the said Anthony Rudd and Johane his wife aswell for and in consideracion of the some of Twoe hundred and fiftie poundes of lawfull money of England to them at or before thensealing and delivery hereof by the said John Milton thelder and John Milton the younger or one of them well and truely paid whereof they the said Anthony Rudd and Johane his wife doe by theis presentes acknowledge the receipt As also for divers other good causes and consideracions them the said Anthony and Johane thereunto moving have given granted bargained sold enfeoffed and confirmed And by theis presentes doe fully cleerely and absolutely give grant bargaine sell enfeoffe and confirme unto them the said John Milton thelder and John Milton the younger their heires and assignes forever All that mesuage or tenemente with thappurtenances scituate in the parish of St Martins in the Feildes in the County of Midd betweene the now or late dwelling house of the right honorable the Lady Adelyn Nevill on the east part and the mesuage or tenemente now or late in the occupacion of John Reynoldes on the west the Covennte garden on the north and the Kinges high way on the

south which said bargained mesuage or tenemente and premisses or the ground whereupon the same mesuage or tenemente and premisses now standeth was heretofore in the tenure or occupacion of Peter Brickston or his assignes and since in the tenure or occupacion of John Johnson Coachmaker or his assignes and now or late in the tenure or occupacion of Mathew Lyster Doctor of Phisick or of his assignes or undertenantes Together with all houses edifices buildinges shopps cellors sollers chambers romes lightes yardes gardens easementes profittes comodities and appurtenances whatsoever to the said mesuage or tenemente hereby bargained and sold belonging or in any wise apperteyning or with the same demised used or occupied as part or parcell thereof And the revercion and revercions remainder and remainders and all the rent issues and proffittes of all and singuler the before bargained premisses and of every part and parcell thereof and all thestate right title interest inheritance clayme and demaund of them the said Anthony Rudd and Johane his wife and either of them in and to the said mesuage tenemente and premisses and of in and to every part and parcell thereof with thappurtenances And all deedes evidences chartres and writinges concerning the said mesuage and premisses or any parte thereof To have and to hold the said mesuage tenemente houses edifices buildinges shopps cellors sollers yardes gardens rentes issues profittes comodities and all other the premisses before by theis presentes bargained and sold or meant or mencioned to be hereby bargained and sold and every parte and parcell thereof with thappurtenances unto the said John Milton thelder and John Milton the younger their heires and assignes to thonely use and behoofe of them the said John Milton thelder and John Milton the younger their heires and assignes forever In witness whereof the said parties to theis present Indentures interchangeably have sett their handes and seales the day and yeare first above written. [Note in Latin that on the fourteenth day of June Anthony Rudd appeared in Court and that on the twenty-second the copy was enrolled.]

Close Roll 2715, Item 19

Westrawe vid et Milton 19

To all to whome this present writing shall come I Ann Westrawe of London widowe send greeting knowe ye that I the said Ann Westrawe for and in consideracion of the some of one hundred and eight poundes of lawfull money of England to me in hand at and before thensealing and delivery of theis presentes well and truly paid by John Milton Citizen and Scrivener of London whereof I doe acknowledge the receipt and thereof and of every part and parcell thereof doe clearely acquite and discharge the said John Milton his heires executors and administrators and every of them forevermore by theis presentes and for other good consideracions me thereunto especially

moving have granted bargained sold remised released enfeoffed and confirmed demised letten assigned and sett over and by theis presentes doe graunt bargaine sell remise release enfeoffe and confirme demise lett assigne and sett over unto the said John Milton his heires executors administrators and assignes All that mesuage or tenemente with thappurtenances scituate lying and being in the parish of St Martins in the Feildes in the Countie of Midd now in the tenure or occupacion of Mathew Lyster Doctor of Phisick or his assignes And all myne estate right title interest rent revercion remainder propertie clayme and demaunde of in and to the same mesuage or tenemente and premisses and of in and to every part and parcell thereof Together with all writinges evidences escriptes and muniments concerning the same which mesuage or tenemente and premisses lately were conveyed over unto me the said Ann Westrawe by and from Anthony Rudd Citizen and Pewterer of London by his deed or writing indented bearing date the three and twentith day of June Anno domini 1626 and in the second yere of his Maiesties raigne that now is of England To have and to hold the same mesuage or tenemente and premisses with thappurtenances and every part and parcell thereof to the said John Milton his heires executors administrators and assignes to his and their owne use and uses forever and that in as large and ample manner and sort to all intentes and purposes as I the said Ann Westraw mine heires executors administrators or assignes or any of us may cann might should or ought to have and enioye the same In witness whereof I the said Ann Westrawe have hereunto sett my hand and seale yeoven the three and twentith daye of June 1627 and in the third yere of the raigne of our said soveraigne lord king Charles of England etc [Note of Ann Westrawe's appearance before the Court on the twenty-fifth of June of the same year, followed by note of enrollment on the same day.]

Close Roll 2803, Item 18

Milton et Dorington 18

This Indenture made the nyneteenth day of June in the yere of our Lord god one thousand six hundred twenty and nyne and in the fifte yere of the reigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles by the grace of god Kinge of England Scotland France and Ireland defendor of faith etc Betweene John Milton Cittizen and Scrivenor of London on thone party and Alexander Dorington of Grayes Inne in the County of Midd gent and Mary Dorington wife to the said Alexander Dorington and late daughter to John Porter late Cittizen and Cutler of London on thother party Witnesseth that the said John Milton for and in consideracion of the some of three hundred poundes of good and lawfull money of England unto him the said John Milton by the said Alexander Dorington att and before thensealinge and delivery of theis presents well and

truly contented and paid and thereof and of every part and parcell thereof he the said John Milton doth by theis presents cleerely acquite exonerate and discharge the said Alexander Dorington his heires executors and administrators as alsoe for other good causes and consideracions him the said John Milton thereunto movinge hath bargained sold enfeoffed and confirmed and by theis presents doth bargaine sell infeoffe and confirme unto the said Alexander Dorington and Mary Dorington and to the heires and assignes of the said Alexander Dorington forever All that mesuage or tenemente with the hereditaments or appurtenances thereunto belonging and alsoe one garden or garden plott on the backside of the said mesuage scituate and beinge in Aldersgate streete in the parishe of Saint Buttolphe without Aldersgate London late in the tenure or occupacion of Thomas Stuttvyle gent or his assignes and alsoe the said John Milton for the consideracion aforesaid hath bargained and sold and by theis presents doth fully and absolutely bargaine and sell unto the said Alexander Dorington and Mary Dorington and the heires and assignes of the said Alexander Dorington forever all the severall counterpaines of Indentures of Leases made demised and graunted of the foresaid mesuage or tenement togeather with all and every the deedes evidences chartres or any other writinges whatsoever touchinge or in any wayes concerninge the premisses or any part or parcell thereof beinge in the handes custody or possession of the said John Milton or of any other to his use To have and to hold all the foresaid mesuage or tenement togeather with the garden and other the appurtenances and every part and parcell thereof by theis presentes graunted bargained and sold unto the said Alexander Dorington and Mary Dorington and the heires and assignes of the said Alexander Dorington to the only and proper use and behoofe of them the said Alexander Dorington and Mary Dorington and the heires and assignes of the said Alexander Dorington forever And the said John Milton for him his heires executors and adminstrators and for every of them doth covenant and graunt to and with the said Alexander Dorington and Mary Dorington and to the heires executors administrators and assignes of the said Alexander by theis presentes that all the said mesuage or tenement with thappurtenances and every part and parcell thereof by theis presentes bargained and sold now remaine and be and att all and every tyme and tymes hereafter shall remaine and contynue unto the said Alexander Dorington and Mary Dorington and to the heires and assignes of the said Alexander Dorington forever cleerely acquitted discharged or otherwise sufficiently saved harmles by the said John Milton his heires executors administrators or assignes of and from all bargaines sales Joyntures Dowers iudgments execucions intrusions fynes alyenacions and other charges duties and incombrances whatsoever heretofor had made done or suffered by the said John

Milton or his assignes or by any other person or persons by his meanes consent or procurement one lease thereof lately made and graunted by the said John Milton unto one Calib Rawlins for the tearme of eight yeres comencinge att the feast of the Nativitie of Saint John Baptist now next ensuinge and the quit rentes duties and paymentes due unto the Kinges maiestie his heires and successors for and in respect of the premisses only excepted and the said John Milton for him his heires executors and administrators and for every of them doth covenant and graunt to and with the said Alexander and Mary Dorington and to the heires executors administrators and assignes of the said Alexander by theis presentes that he the said John Milton att the makinge hereof standeth and is lawfull & rightfull owner of the foresaid mesuage or tenemente with thappurtenances and every part & parcell thereof for any act or thing by him done to the contrary and that he is solely lawfully and rightly seised of a good and perfect estate in fee simple or fee tayle in his owne right and to his owne only use of all the said mesuage or tenement by theis presentes graunted bargained and sold for any act or thinge by him done to the contrary and that he hath full power perfect lawfull and good authority for any act or thing by him done to the contrary to bargaine sell and assure the same in manner and forme aforesaid And further that he the said John Milton and the heires of the said John Milton and all and every other person or persons and their heires havinge or lawfully clayminge any lawfull estate or interest of or in the premisses or any part or parcell thereof by from or under him the said John Milton shall and will all the coste and charge of them the said Alexander and Mary Dorington and the heires and assignes of the said Alexander att all and every tyme and tymes hereafter duringe the tearme of seaven yeres next ensuinge the date hereof att the reasonable request of the said Alexander Dorington and Mary Dorington and the heires or assignes of the said Alexander Dorington doe and suffer to be done all and every such reasonable and further act and actes thinge and thinges devise and devises assurannce and assurannces whatsoever for the further and better assurannce and sure makinge and for the cleere and absolute havinge and enioyinge of all the foresaid premisses with their appurtenances and every part and parcell thereof to be conveyed and assured to the said Alexander and Mary Dorington and the heires and assignes of the said Alexander Dorington be it by fyne feoffement recoverie deede or deedes inrolled inrollment of theis presentes recovery with single or double vouchers and with warranty only against the said John Milton and his heires or without warranty or otherwayes as shall be reasonably devised or advised by the said Alexander Dorington or by the Councell learned in the lawes of this Realme of the said Alexander Dorington his heires or assignes In witness whereof the said parties to theis present Indentures

interchangeably have sett their handes and seales yeoven the day and yere first above written. [Note in Latin that on June 19 John Milton appeared before the Court in this matter.]

Close Roll 2860, Item 7

Suckling et Milton 7

This Indenture made the Eighteenth day of July in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand six hundred twenty and nyne and in the fiveth yere of the reigne of our soveraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God king of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the faith etc Betweene John Suckling of London Esquier sonne and heire apparant of the honorable Sir John Suckling knight deceased late Comptroller of his said maiesties houshold and William Barrett of London gent Executor of the last Will and Testament of the said Sir John Suckling on thone part And John Milton Citizen and Scrivener of London on thother part Witnesseth that Whereas the said Sir John Suckling by the name of John Suckling by his last Will and testament in writing bearing date the last day of September in the yere of our Lord God one thousand six hundred twenty and six and in the second yere of the raigne of our said sovereigne Lord King Charles did expressely will and authorize his executors in the same Will mencioned within three yeres after the decease of him the said sir John Suckling to grant bargaine and sell amongest other landes tenementes and hereditamentes his house on Ludgate Hill London with thappurtenances in as large absolute and ample manner as the same was conveyed unto him and as he might graunt sell and convey the same it being to rayse moneys for his daughters porcions and the payment of his debtes requiring the said John Suckling his sonne to ioyne With his Executors in the sale thereof if it shalbe desired as he tendred the blessing of god Almightie as by the same last Will more playnly may appeare which howse abovemencioned to be on Ludgate hill and by him the said Sir John in and by his last will appointed intended and authorized to be sould the said John Suckling and William Barrett doe confesse and acknowledge to have beene heretofore twoe mesuages or tenementes one greater and one lesse and by him the said Sir John were lately made and esteemed but one dwelling house wherein he himselfe with his wife and famely sometymes inhabited and dwelt and is scituate in the parish of St Martins within Ludgate London Now this Indenture further witnesseth that the said John Suckling and William Barrett in performance of the said last will and testament of him the said Sir John Suckling and alsoe for and in consideracion of the some of five hundred and threescore poundes of good and lawfull money of England by the said John Milton to the said William Barrett at thensealing and delivery of theis presentes well and truely satisfied contented and paid whereof the said William Barrett doth acknowledge the re-

ceipt and thereof and of every part and parcell thereof doth fully and clearely acquite release and discharge the said John Milton his heires executors and administrators and every of them by theis presentes have granted bargained sould aliened enfeoffed and confirmed and by theis presentes aswell by vertue and authority of the said last will and testament of the said Sir John Suckling as by any other right title or interest whatsoever in them the said Sir John Suckling and William Barrett or either of them being doe fully clearely and absolutely grant bargaine sell alien enfeoffe and confirme unto the said John Milton his heires and assignes forever All that the said house on Ludgate hill aforesaid or the said twoe mesuages or tenementes scituate in the parish of St Martins within Ludgate London devised and appointed to be sold as aforesaid with all shopps cellers sollers roomes entries yardes backsides leade and leaden pipes belonging to and parcell of the said house mesuages or tenementes or either of them with all and singuler their appurtenances except the branch or pipe of leade conveying water into the kitchen of the greater of the said mesuages And all the estate right title interest revercion remainder inheritance property clayme and demaund of them the said John Suckling and William Barrett and either of them of in and to the premisses and every part thereof except before excepted Together with all chartres writinges and evidences touching the same premisses or any part thereof Which said greate mesuage or tenemente is scituate betweene the tenemente now or late of Raphe Brooke gent on the east and the tenemente now or late of William Smyth on the west and the said lesser tenemente was sometymes in the occupacion of Guy Winyett gent or his assignes and is scituate in the Lane or Alley commonly called or knowne by the name of Panier Alley in the said parish of St Martin betweene part of the yard of the mesuage or tenemente hereby mencioned to be bargained and sould and the tenemente of the said Raphe Brooke on the east and the said Lane or Alley on the west of which said great mesuage or tenemente one Diones Partridge widdowe deceased late wife of John Hulson alsoe deceased was lately seized for terme of her naturall life To have and to hold the said house mesuages or tenementes above bargained and solde and by the said last will of the said Sir John Suckling mencioned ment and intended to be bargained and sold with their and every of their appurtenances and every part thereof unto the said John Milton his heires and assignes to the onely use and behoofe of him the said John Milton his heires and assignes forever And the said William Barrett for him his heires executors and administrators doth covenant and grant to and with the said John Milton his heires and assignes and to and with every of them by theis presentes in manner and forme following that is to say that he the said William Barrett at the tyme of thensealing and delivery of theis presentes for any act or thing by the said

William Barrett done to the contrary hath full power strength and lawfull authority to grant bargaine and sell unto the said John Milton his heires and assignes forever all that the said house mesuage or tenemente and premisses with thappurtenances and every part thereof in manner and forme aforesaid And that the said John Milton his heires and assignes notwithstanding any act or thing by him the said William Barrett done or suffered to the contrary shall or may lawfully peaceably and quietly have hould possesse and enioy the said house mesuages or tenementes and all and singuler the abovebargained premisses with their and every of their appurtenances and every part thereof except before excepted And alsoe except one demise or lease by the said William Barrett made or granted of the premisses unto John Murrall lynnendraper for the tenure of five yeares whereof there wilbe remayning and unexpired at the feast of the Nativitie of St John Baptist last past before the date of theis presentes three yeeres and three quarters of a yeare or thereaboutes upon which lease was and is reserved during the contynuance of the said terme the yearely rent of fortie poundes of lawfull money of England which said rent the said John Milton his heires and assignes by the true intent and meaning of theis presentes is and are from henceforth to have and enioy during the said terme In witnes whereof the said parties to theis present Indentures interchangeably have set their handes and seales yeoven the day and yeares first above written [Notes in Latin that John Suckling did not sign, seal, or admit this indenture; that William Barrett on the date above given appeared before the Court.]

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